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JAN 1993
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Mr. Fuller

THE HISTORY OF RWANDA - TIMELINE

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Pre-1400s

Dating back to the Neolithic period, the earliest settlers to the Rwandan region are the Twa, a pygmoid people related to the Pygmies of the Congo forest.

The Hutu of Bantu origin reach Rwanda after a long eastward trek from the Congo.

Circa 1400

The Tutsi - a pastoral people of Nilotic origin - migrate from the Horn of Africa. The majority are Hamitic shepherds from Ethiopia.

1400-1600s

From oral tradition: Gihanga is believed to be the Tutsi founder of the Kingdom of Rwanda. Gihanga supposedly led the migration of Tutsi to Rwanda from Northern Africa. His son, Kanyaruanda becomes the first Mwami (king). The people of the kingdom become known as Banyarwandans.

Over the course of 200 years, the Tutsis consolidate their rule, subjugating the Hutu and the Twa. Rwandan society is then organized into castes of Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa. Each caste becomes identified by its economic relationship to the other.

TUTSI: most are part of the royal family; others are nobles, army commanders, local chiefs or cattle chiefs.

HUTU: some are chiefs and soldiers while the majority are generally agriculturalists.

TWA: mostly artisans, entertainers, and hunters.

The Kingdom's feudal economic system is based on cattle and land. The system called UBUHAKE is one in which HUTU/TWA give their labor and crops to Tutsi land owners in return for the use of Tutsi cows and military protection.

1600s

The Kingdom of Rwanda is consolidated under Mwami Rugansu I Bwimba. Up to the 1800s, the Kingdom of Rwanda has frequent conflicts with the Kingdom of Urundi through which Rwanda's territorial boundaries are expanded.

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- 1800s Mwami Kigeri IV establishes the final borders of the Kingdom as they existed when the first Europeans arrive. The capital of the Kingdom is Nyanza. The northwest portion of the Kingdom is Hutu-dominated and therefore not as tightly linked to the rest of the Rwandan Kingdom.
- 1885 - The Conference of Berlin declares the territory of present-day Rwanda to be a part of the German sphere of interest, although the Germans don't actually enter and explore the country until 1894.
- 1894 - The first European, German Lieutenant Count Graf von Goetzen - a geographer and explorer, visits Rwanda. Count von Goetzen later becomes the first governor of German East Africa, responsible in part for the administration of Rwanda.
- 1899 - The court of the Mwami submits to a German protectorate without resistance. Rwanda becomes incorporated into Germany's East African Empire. Note: Rwanda and Burundi are governed together by the Germans even though the two kingdoms were previously separate.
- 1900 - The first Catholic missions are founded in the country by the Roman Catholic Order of the Missionaries of Africa (The White Fathers).
- Early 1900s A border controversy develops between Belgium, Germany, and Great Britain. Rwanda-Urundi (RU) is at a strategic juncture for all three colonial powers:
- Belgium under King Leopold II wants RU for its access to Lake Victoria and to link the Belgian Empire to the East coast of Africa.
- Germany wants continued control of RU to maintain its East African Empire in tact.
- Great Britain sees the territory as a necessary link in its proposed Cape to Cairo railroad to unite its northern and southern possessions.
- 1907/1908 - The first Protestant missions are founded in the country.
- 1910 - An agreement is reached between the three colonial powers stating that RU will remain in German hands.

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- 1911 - A census is taken for the later 1914 imposition of a head tax. The Rwandan population is estimated at 2 million.
- 1913 - Richard Kandt, the German Administrator in Residence in Kigali, begins the cultivation of coffee as a cash crop for export, thereby introducing a money economy to Rwanda. Up until then, Rwanda had a barter economy based on land and cattle.
- 1914 - The beginning of World War I
- May 21, 1916 - The Germans are replaced by the Belgians as the colonial power. Belgian troops from the Congo chase out the few Germans in country without incident.
- Aug 7, 1919 - The Council of Four (U.S., Great Britain, France, and Italy) recognize the Belgian claim to RB.
- Aug 23, 1923 - The League of Nations mandates Rwanda and Burundi (then called Urundi) to Belgium as the Protectorate Territory of Rwanda-Urundi.
- Belgian colonial rule characterized by a "Divide and Rule" policy. The Belgians rule thru the Tutsi monarchy with some modification of the monarchy's administrative and political organization.
- 1923 - Ubuhake system modified so that tribute is only paid to the Mwami.
- August 1925 - Law passed by the Belgian parliament joining RB in an administrative union with the Congo.
- 1926 - The Tutsi administrative structure is officially changed by the Belgians. Land chiefs, cattle chiefs, and army chiefs are replaced by a single authority, thereby getting rid of the former Rwandan Kingdom's system of checks and balances between the various village chiefs.
- Late 1920s - The first mass exodus of Rwandans to Uganda and other neighboring countries begins as the Belgians consolidate their power in Rwanda.
- 1931 - Mwami Musinga is deposed when he proves to be an obstacle to Belgian development plans. Mwami Musinga later dies in exile in the Congo in 1940.

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After deposing the Mwami, the Belgians bypass the Biru (elders) by naming Musinga's son, Charles Mutara III Rudahigwa, as the new Tutsi king.

- Dec 31, 1946 - Rwanda-Urundi becomes a UN Trust Territory under Belgium supervision.
- 1950s Western powers' concern with the threat of a "Red Belt" of radical independent states across Africa prompts the Belgians to reconsider their support of the Tutsis. The Tutsis in power during this time have become more vocal about their desire to be independent of Belgian rule. As a result, the Belgians begin to support moderate Hutu groups within the country.
- 1954 - Belgian political reforms allow the creation of a locally selected (not elected) High Council of Rwanda. One of the High Council's first acts, with the approval of King Mutara, is to abolish the system of Ubuhake.
- 1956 - Adult male suffrage introduced to allow for the election of advisory councils to the High Council of Rwanda.
- February 1957 The all-Tutsi High Council of Rwanda issues a statement calling for self government, free of Belgian interference. Many Hutus see the Council's statement as a call for the continuation of Tutsi domination of Hutus after independence.
- March 1957 A counter-document called the "Manifesto of Bahutu" is issued by a group of Hutu intellectuals, calling themselves the Hutu Social Movement. Gregoire Kayibanda is the leading spokesman for the group.
- The Manifesto states that the basic problem in the country is the continued domination of a Hutu majority by a Tutsi minority. The Manifesto also calls for an end to caste prejudices and more opportunities for Hutus in government, business, and school.
- November 1957 A second Hutu organization called APROSOMA - The Association for the Betterment of the Masses - is created that also attacks Tutsi domination.
- July 24, 1959 Mwami Mutara III dies mysteriously in Bujumbura after an injection of antibiotics. Jean Baptiste Ndahindurwa, son of Musinga and half-brother of Mutara, is named the new king. His name becomes Kigeri V Ndahindurwa.

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January, 1960 APROSOMA becomes a political party under a new Belgian plan to encourage the development of local political parties as part of a larger plan to allow for future Rwandan self government.

Sep 3, 1960 The UNAR - Rwandan National Union Party - is created by existing Tutsis in power. The UNAR calls for total independence under a hereditary constitutional monarchy.

Oct 9, 1959 The Hutu Social Movement becomes a political party calling itself PARMEHUTU - Parti du Mouvement de l'Empancipation Hutu. PARMEHUTU is openly supported by Belgium because the party agrees with the Belgian timetable for allowing Rwandan self-governance. The party's platform calls for 1) an end to the old Tutsi ruled fuedal system, 2) land reform, and 3) Hutu access to education. Kayibanda becomes the leader of PARMEHUTU.

Nov 1, 1959 UNAR activists attack a Hutu sub-chief. In retaliation, Hutus attack a UNAR Tutsi chief. Ethnic violence spreads throughout the countryside.

Nov 14, 1959 A State of Emergency is declared. Belgian troops from the Congo are sent in to keep the peace.

February 1960 Belgians encourage the reform of the Rwandan political system. Sub-chiefdoms become communes with a burgonmaster and an elected council. On the national level, a new State Council is created to replace the old High Council of Rwanda.

April 1960 350 Tutsi chiefs and sub-chiefs have been killed to date in ethnic violence and have been replaced by the Belgians with Hutus. Estimates suggest that 22,000 Tutsi have been displaced internally because of the ethnic violence.

June 1960 UN sponsored communal elections are held. The PARMEHUTU win 2,390 seats out of 3,125 contested.

July 1960 Mwami Kigeri V travels to Leopoldville to meet with the Secretary General of the UN to protest the elections. The Belgian government decides not to let him back into the country. Mwami Kigeri flees to Nairobi, Kenya.

Oct 26, 1960 Belgians allow for the creation of a provisional government of Rwanda. Kayibanda is appointed Head of the provisional government.

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Jan 28, 1961 All burgomasters and communal counselors meet at Gitarama. The meeting is convened with Belgium's blessing by the Minister of the Interior, Jean Baptiste Rwazibo. The group proclaims Rwandan independence under a republican government and introduces the new republic's flag.

Dominque Mbonyumutwa is declared the new President of the Republic and Kayibanda is named the Prime Minister, charged with selecting a new cabinet.

Feb 1, 1961 The Belgians initially grant de facto independence to Rwanda.

Aug 4, 1961 Belgian recognition of the republic is withdrawn, after pressure from the UN. Questions have arisen about the selection of Rwanda's new leaders in January in the absence of elections. Belgium resumes administrative control of Rwanda until elections can be held on September 18.

Sep 18, 1961 PARMEHUTU is the overwhelming victor in the elections for the Legislative Assembly.

Oct 2, 1961 The Assembly convenes and among its first acts, it immediately votes to abolish the Tutsi monarchy, to divest the Mwami of all power, and to establish a republican form of government.

Oct 26, 1961 The legislative Assembly elects Kayibanda as the new president of the Republic.

Late 1961 UNAR militants among the displaced Tutsi organize into guerrilla bands called INYENZI (cockroaches). The Inyensi launch attacks from Uganda, Burundi, Zaire, and Tanganyika (later Tanzania) against Hutu government officials. Inyensi attacks, including 10 major offensives, continue for five years until July 1966.

December 1961 A Protocol between Belgium and Rwanda grants Rwanda powers of internal autonomy, effective January 1, 1962.

Feb/Mar 1962 Inyensi attack Biyumba from Uganda. Hutu retaliation results in massacres of 1,000-2,000 Tutsi.

April 1962 A UN commission meeting in Addis Ababa asks representatives of Belgium, Rwanda, and Burundi to explore a possible union between Rwanda and

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Burundi. The two countries only agree to the creation of a monetary and customs union and a joint coffee board. Neither agrees to any form of political union.

- June 27, 1962 UN General Assembly votes to terminate Belgium Trusteeship and grant Rwanda full independence effective July 1, 1962.
- July 1, 1962 Rwanda regains its independence
- Nov 24, 1962 The first Constitution is passed, providing for a unitary republic with three branches of government.
- Dec 21, 1963 Inyenzi launch their biggest offensive from Burundi. Hutu retaliation results in an estimated 10,000 dead.
- 1964 UNHCR estimates 150,000 Banyarwandans have fled to Tanzania, Burundi, Zaire, and Uganda. A large majority of the refugees are Tutsi. (Estimates range from 40% to 70% of the Tutsi population having fled Rwanda from 1959-1964).
- By this year, no effective opposition party to PARMEHUTU exists in the country.
- 1966 By mid-year, the government has effectively defeated the Inyensi, at the cost of thousands of lives.
- 1968 Disaffection in the National Legislative Assembly with the government leads to purging of dissident elements of the PARMEHUTU.
- July 5, 1973 Coup orchestrated by Major General Juvenal Habyarimana overthrows President Kayibanda. Kayibanda and his ministers are arrested and killed; the National Assembly and PARMEHUTU party are abolished.
- Habyarimana creates a new governmental system based on the principle "Equilibre ethnique et regional" in which:
- every ethnic group is assigned quotas for national opportunity for education, business, and job opportunities based on an annually computed population census.
 - Habyarimana also introduces passbook identity cards to classify every person on the basis of his/her ethnicity or caste.

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1975 Habyarimana announces the formation of the MRND - National Revolutionary Movement for Development - whose goals are to promote peace, unity, and national development.

September 1976 The treaty for the creation of the Great Lakes States Economic Community (CEPQC) is signed, promoting economic cooperation between Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

1978 The Kagera Basin Organization (KBO) is formed by Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania to develop the river valley including construction of a dam at Rusumo Falls for irrigation and electricity production.

December 1978 MRND announces a public referendum in which the Rwandans vote on a new constitution; and in a related plebiscite, the Rwandan people confirm Habyarimana as President.

January 1980 Election of communal counselors.

1981 Election of deputies to newly created 64 member legislative body, the CND - the National Development Council.

 National Population Office created to develop and implement a National Family Planning policy.

1983 President Habyarimana re-elected President. The CND is increased to 70 members.

1986 The state-owned mining company goes bankrupt. Foreign exchange from mineral exports of tin and tungsten drops.

February 1988 Rwanda and Uganda form a joint ministerial commission to look into the Rwandan refugee problem. Rwanda is concerned with the large number of Tutsi refugees who have joined the Ugandan NRA (National Resistance Army).

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE TIES BETWEEN UGANDA & RPF

1960s President Milton Obote is President of Uganda

1969 Obote overthrown by Idi Amin

1979 Tanzanian troops/Ugandan exiles overthrow Amin

Dec 1980 Elections bring Obote back to power

Feb 6, 1981 Yoweri Museveni (former Minister of Defense) starts guerrilla campaign against Obote. Museveni forms the NRA.

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Prominent members of the NRA are
Rwandan refugees:
Fred Rwigyema - 1st army commander and
leader of the RPF
Paul Kagame - New RPF army commander
after death of Rwigyema

Jan 26, 1986 NRA capture Kampala and Yoweri
Museveni sworn in as president.

December 1988 New presidential elections are held as scheduled -
5 years after the first elections. Habyarimana (the
only candidate) is re-elected president.

1989 UNHCR asked by GOR and GOU to survey refugee
settlements to determine percentage of refugees who
want to return to Rwanda or stay in Uganda.

Habyarimana fears that refugees are being pressured
by RPF to return en masse to Rwanda. RPF supposedly
working under the guise of the self help group "The
Rwandese Refugees Welfare Foundation". (UNHCR
survey to begin in October 1990)

August 1989 International coffee agreement collapses. This is a
major blow for the Rwandan economy since coffee has
become its leading source of foreign exchange.

November 1989 Major Paul Kagame becomes acting head of NRA's
military intelligence organization. He holds this
position until June 1990.

July 1990 Kagame is sent to Fort Leavenworth for IMET
sponsored training.

July 5, 1990 President Habyarimana announces a package of
political reform initiatives including separation
of church and state and the preparation of a new
charter under which multiple political parties
could be recognized. The plan proposes a 2 year
timetable for reforms.

August 25, 1990 Vincent Kajeguhakwa, a Tutsi businessman and former
partner of Habyarimana, and Pasteur Bizimungu, a
Hutu head of a Rwandan parastatal and relative of
Habyarimana, both flee to Kampala.

Late Aug 1990 General Rwigyema visits Rwandans in Europe and
North America on what is believed to be an RPF
fund-raising tour.

Late Sep 1990 Museveni (GOU) and Habyarimana (GOR) travel to U.S.
to attend World Summit on Children.

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Sep 21, 1990

Habyarimana appoints commission of national syntheses to suggest ways to promote further democratization.

Oct 1, 1990

Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) forces, mainly Tutsi refugees serving in the Ugandan NRA, invade Rwanda from Uganda and attack Rwandan government forces (FAR) at Kagitumba. The initial force of 2,000 Rwandan exiles is soon joined by other Tutsis and disaffected Hutu's, bringing the number of attackers to 4,000. Fierce fighting follows. A state of emergency is declared immediately; the President automatically assumes SOE powers.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE RPF

1979 Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) operates clandestinely.

1983-1986 RANU Members start joining NRA

1986 RANU operates openly and changes its name to the RPF

1989 Major General Rwigyema is elected president of the RPF's 26 person executive committee (Rwigyema also becomes military head of the RPF).

Oct 1990 The RPF's political program is announced publically in October 1990 immediately following the first offensive and later amended in March 1991.

The Front's 8 point program calls for:

- 1) national unity
- 2) democracy
- 3) self-sustaining economy
- 4) end to misuse of public office
- 5) creation of social services
- 6) democratization of security forces
- 7) progressive foreign policy
- 8) end to the system that creates refugees

Oct 2, 1990

Major General Fred Rwigyema of the RPF dies in the second day of fighting.

Oct 5, 1990

Belgium and French military contingents arrive in Kigali. Zairian troops assist the FAR.

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Oct 17, 1990 The Tanzanian President Mwinyi convenes summit with President Museveni of Uganda and Habyarimana at MWANZA in order to resolve the conflict in Rwanda peacefully. The GOR agrees to a dialogue with the opposition under OAU auspices. Tanzania and Uganda try to persuade RPF to agree to a ceasefire.

Oct 23-24, 1990 The heads of state of CEPGL countries (Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire) meet in GBADOLITE, decide to establish a peace-keeping force (PKF), and note Zairian President Mobutu's efforts to facilitate a GOR-RPF dialogue.

Two officers leading the RPF - Major Peter Baryengara and Chris Bunyenzenzi - are killed in battle. The RPF begins to suffer some losses.

Oct 26, 1990 Mobutu convenes another summit (GBADOLITE II), this time including President Museveni of Uganda. Mobutu becomes OAU mediator between GOR and RPF. A Military Observer Group (MOG) is established, including officers from the FAR, RPF, Burundi, Uganda, and Zaire, under the supervision of the OAU. OAU Chairman Museveni is asked to consult on the peace-keeping force.

November, 1990 Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe (Hutu, former Minister of Interior under Kayibanda) becomes president of the RPF. Major Paul Kagame leaves IMET training to become military head of RPF.

The GOR announces that it will abolish ethnic identity cards, remove ethnic restrictions on employment and education, and begin discussions to adopt multi-party system. On the economic front, the GOR devalues the Rwandan franc by 40%.

Nov 12-19, 1990 MOG (including FAR and RPF) deliberates in GOMA, Zaire; drafts ceasefire; GOR objects to certain provisions.

Nov 20, 1990 Summit at GOMA (Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Uganda). Kenya and Tanzania are absent, but the RPF attends.

Regional leaders fail to reach an agreement on a peace plan. Rwanda argues that it cannot support a wholesale repatriation of refugees and that it does not accept the RPF as the spokesman for the refugee population. Rwanda also begins to charge that Uganda is assisting the rebels.

In subsequent weeks, the OAU tries to get the GOR and RPF to agree on a ceasefire and deployment of the MOG.

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- Jan 17-19, 1991 Meeting of governments and UNHCR in Kinshasa, Zaire to discuss Rwandan refugee issue.
- Jan 23, 1991 RPF mounts a major attack on RUHENGARI and captures the town for a day. The GOR responds by arresting thousand of suspected RPF supporters, primarily Tutsis, bringing the number arrested since the invasion to more than 8,000. All arrests are made under the state of emergency powers (SOE) of October 1990. Ethnic violence against the Tutsi residents living near the Ugandan border follows. Both civilian and military forces are involved in the attacks, and between 200-300 civilian lives are lost. GOR officials are suspected of condoning or inciting ethnic violence.
- February, 1991 Rwanda reaches an agreement with the World Bank and the IMF on a \$25M structural adjustment program, Unfortunately, economic recovery seems predicated on ending the conflict.
- Feb 15, 1991 Habyarimana publically calls for all refugees to come home.
- Feb 17, 1991 Summit in ZANZIBAR with Habyarimana, Museveni, and Mwinyi. Habyarimana accepts the principle of a cease-fire.
- Feb 19, 1991 Regional Conference on refugees is held in DAR ES SALAAM. Mobutu is asked to mediate ceasefire within two weeks. The conference also lays the groundwork for a solution to the Rwandan refugee problem.
- Dar es Salaam declaration: Rwanda agrees to accept back those refugees who wish to return; while Tanzania, Burundi, Zaire and Uganda agree to facilitate naturalization or local settlement of those who wish to remain.
- March 14, 1991 Habyarimana delivers a speech inviting RPF combatants to take advantage of a presidential amnesty to return to Rwanda; few respond.
- Mar 11-16, 1991 Ceasefire talks between GOR and RPF at N'SELE, Zaire; Mobutu informs OAU that GOR and RPF have initialled a ceasefire agreement.

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March 29, 1991 Ceasefire agreement signed at N'SELE, Zaire. OAU to supervise ceasefire with multi-national military observer group (MOG). The N'Sele accord stipulates that a political dialogue must begin within 15 days. The cease-fire, however, is violated almost immediately. The FAR shells RPF positions on 30 March 1991. The MOG is never fully successfully deployed, although it makes visits to FAR positions.

Late March, 1991 The Commission on national unity submits its report to Habyarimana. The GOR also begins releasing unconditionally the 8,000 suspected RPF supporters arrested since the October invasion.

April, 1991 The GOR announces a limited pardon program for those already tried and convicted of being RPF sympathizers.

May 4, 1991 The formal signing of an agreement on the Status of the Neutral Military Observer Group. GOR and RPF representatives are excluded to speed deployment.

May 17, 1991 The MOG is formally deployed, but the GOR imposes restrictions on its movements. The GOR mistrusts the motives of the Ugandan and Burundian soldiers within the MOG.

June 18, 1991 A new constitution is promulgated to allow for democratic reforms. The CND also passes the Political Parties Law which legalizes a multi-party system but stipulates that parties not be organized along regional or ethnic lines. Five political parties are organized by the end of July. The MRND is renamed the National Revolutionary Movement for Democracy.

July 27, 1991 HARARE initiative. At the request of the GOR, DAS Hicks organizes a meeting between RPF and GOR representatives in Harare. Discussions are not productive but the initiative convinces France to mediate in the future.

Sep 7, 1991 Mini-Summit held at GBADOLITE. Regional heads of state meet under the auspices of the OAU and call for both sides to respect the ceasefire and engage in political dialogue to end the conflict. Babangida, Mobutu, Habyarimana, Buyoya, Ssemogerere (Ugandan FM), and Malecela (Tanzanian PM) participate. RPF representatives are present in Gbadolite but do not participate. MOG is restructured.

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Sep 17, 1991 A new round of talks at GRADOLITE is suspended. The only positive accomplishment is that the N'Sele Accords are modified to formally approve the reorganization of the MOG. The Zairian Foreign Minister, mediating on behalf of Mobutu, breaks off the talks after becoming exasperated with the RPF delegation and instructs them to go back to their leadership and return with negotiable points.

September 1991 Heavy fighting. RPF increases infiltration and penetration into northern Rwanda thru to December.

Oct 23, 1991 Minister of Justice Nsanzimana named PM by Habyarimana; negotiations begin to form a coalition government.

Oct 23-25, 1991 French Director for Africa Dijoud makes first attempt to mediate negotiations between GOR and RPF in Paris. Despite expectations that the meetings would involve direct negotiations between Rwandan Foreign Minister Bizimungu and RPF Military Commander Paul Kagame, neither Kagame nor RPF president Kanyarengwe attends and Bizimungu subsequently declines to participate.

November, 1991 Accusations against the Liberal Party (PL) and others of being agents of the RPF lead to serious ethnic violence in the Bugasera and Murambi areas.

Dec 15, 1991 Two amnesty laws are passed; one provides amnesty to exiles and refugees; the other (internal amnesty) provides amnesty to persons arrested, convicted, or under investigation for infractions of the law. Persons accused of assassination or other violent crimes against persons or prisoners of war are not covered under the legislation.

Dec 30, 1991 After two and one half months of negotiations to form a coalition government stall, Prime Minister Sylvestre Nsanzimana is sworn in, along with a new government containing only one non-MRND member.

Jan 14-15, 1992 Second round of GOR/RPF negotiations in Paris led by Dijoud.

Jan 19, 1992 President Habyarimana meets with Tanzanian President Mwinyi and Ugandan President Museveni in Arusha to discuss the question of alleged Ugandan support of the RPF.

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- January, 1992** Opposition parties hold a series of demonstrations in Kigali calling for a national conference and the dismissal of the government of Prime Minister Sylvestre Nsanzimana. New press law passed requiring an advance copy of each newspaper be submitted to the office of Public Prosecutors and the Ministry of Information.
- Jan/Feb, 1992** Church representatives restart dialogue between GOR and opposition parties on forming a coalition government.
- Feb 11, 1992** Pressured by demonstrations, Habyarimana resumes discussions with opposition parties about forming a transitional government.
- March 1992** Anti-Tutsi massacres break out in Bugasera on March 4 killing several hundred. A State of emergency is declared on March 8. 41, subsequently accused of inciting the violence, are freed when their trials are suspended for technical reasons.
- The formation of a new Hutu supremacist group (CDR) and accusations against the liberal party as an agent of the RPF exacerbate ethnic tensions further. Attacks against Tutsi in Bugasera follow. At least 60 are killed and 10,000 displaced. The threat of further ethnic violence grows.
- March 14, 1992** Three opposition parties - The Democratic Republican Movement (MDR), the Liberal Party (PL), and the Social Democratic Party (PSD) - sign an agreement to discuss the issue of a national conference and agree in principle to establish a transition government with the MRND.
- April 3, 1992** Habyarimana, under pressure from the opposition, names Dismas Nsengiyaremye of the MDR to be prime minister (opposition) and to form a transitional government.
- April 16, 1992** Nsengiyaremye announces a transitional government with 9 of 19 ministers from the MRND and three each from the MDR, the PL and the PSD while the tiny Christian Democratic Party is given one. The Council of Ministers that is created is responsible for policy formulation and is headed by the president but presided over by the Prime Minister. In accord with 1991 constitution, the National Council for Development (CND), elected under the previous one party system, stays in until multi party elections can be held (Yet, no dates are set for elections).

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Transition Government 7 point program:

- 1) negotiate peace
- 2) assume internal security
- 3) reform government administration
- 4) improve Rwandan economy
- 5) settle refugee problem
- 6) organize national debate on question of national conference
- 7) organize general elections

May 8-9, 1992 DAS Cohen visits Kampala. In meetings with RPF and Museveni, he offers U.S. technical assistance for ceasefire negotiations and urges an end to the conflict.

May 10-11, 1992 DAS Cohen visits Kigali. In meetings with Habyarimana, PM, and GOR ministers, he offers U.S. assistance.

May 24, 1992 FM Ngulinzira (MDR) meets RPF representatives in Uganda.

May 27-28, 1992 FAR soldiers mutiny in GISNEYI and RUHENGHERI prefectures in response to rumors that they might be demobilized; at least 30 are killed in the violence.

June 5, 1992 RPF attacks Byumba on the same day peace talks are scheduled to open in Paris.

June 6, 1992 RPF and government negotiators meeting in Paris announce that they will meet again in July to hold comprehensive peace talks. DAS attends as observer.

Government announces 18 percent devaluation of Rwandan Franc to replenish state coffers drained by spending on the war. This devaluation comes at a time of low world coffee prices. This is also the first devaluation since October 1990 when the Rwandans devalued by 40 percent as part of an ambitious structural adjustment program.

June 22-30, 1992 FM Ngulinzira meets RPF Chairman Kanyarengwe at OAU foreign ministers session.

July 12, 1992 Meeting in Arusha, Tanzania between GOR and RPF with neighboring countries, France, U.S., Belgium, and OAU as observers. RPF and government negotiators agree on ceasefire to take effect July 31 and they agree to hold future talks on political reconciliation and integration of military forces.

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- July 31, 1992** Ceasefire takes effect and generally holds although OAU ceasefire monitors from Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Senegal do not deploy for over a month.
- August 1, 1992** Rwanda hosts summit meeting with Burundian President Buyoya and Zairian President Mobutu to discuss mutual aid to support the repatriation of each other's refugees.
- Anti-government broadcasts by government radio fuels intense criticism by Habyarimana and MRND of the opposition party's Information Minister and the role of the ministers in the multi-party cabinet.
- August 8, 1992** Uganda and Rwanda sign a security pact, agreeing to not allow their territory to be used as a staging point for the destabilization of the other and to permit the free flow of goods across their common border.
- Aug 10-17, 1992** Arusha II conference political talks held and conclude with the GOR and RPF signing a protocol on the rule of law, by which they agree to work to build a government of national unity based on respect for the rule of law, political pluralism, and protection of human rights.
- Aug 15-25, 1992** Outbreak of anti-Tutsi violence in KIBUYE prefecture claims some 300 lives.
- August 23, 1992** Habyarimana (GOR) and Museveni (GOU) meet alone in Burundi. Museveni not impressed with GOR's efforts to end the conflict.
- Sep 7-18, 1992** At Arusha III conference, government delegation led by Ngulinzira, apparently without Habyarimana's approval, tables conciliatory proposals and instead calls for reduced presidential powers, a cabinet including the RPF that would make all major decisions, and assurances that agreements reached at Arusha would take precedence over the current Constitution and current laws. The RPF wants 3 seats in the 7 member executive council headed by Habyarimana but backs down under pressure from observers including Uganda. The participants finally sign an agreement in principle on power-sharing, unification and political cooperation. All negotiators return home to consult with their respective leaders.

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- Sep 25, 1992 In a speech on the anniversary of Rwanda's 1961 referendum ending the domination of the Tutsi oligarchy, Habyarimana criticizes the RPF and the opposition parties, but indicates that he is pleased with the progress in Arusha.
- Oct 5, 1992 After 2 weeks of discussion and public exchanges of critical letters, Habyarimana and the opposition agree on instructions for the delegation to Arusha IV and approve the accomplishments of Arusha III.
- Oct 6, 1992 Arusha IV conference begins. The two sides discuss the details of forming a transition government to include all political parties and the RPF. Over the course of the talks, it is apparent that the government delegation, which now includes members of all parties in the cabinet, is negotiating at times without Habyarimana's backing, exceeding its authority, and sometimes acting as if Arusha was the national conference opposition parties have long favored.
- Oct 10, 1992 An IMF/World Bank team visits Rwanda. The GOR budget financing gap is estimated at \$10 billion. Yet, the IMF/World Bank team leaves optimistic about prospects for peace and an upswing in the Rwandan economy.
- Opposition parties organize massive demonstrations in Kigali supporting the Arusha negotiations and calling on Habyarimana to resign.
- Oct 16, 1992 Habyarimana tells Ambassador Flaten that the negotiating team in Arusha has exceeded its authority again.
- Oct 29, 1992 After Habyarimana probes U.S., French and Tanzania on their attitude toward a suspension of the Arusha talks, the government announces that talks will be suspended first for 2 weeks, and then later until November 23.
- Oct 30, 1992 Violent demonstrations are held in Kigali by the Hutu supremacist party - the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) - in protest of the arrest of CDR militants, suspected of murdering local officials affiliated with the PL. Marchers turn on passers by, injuring several; the security forces end up firing on PSD office headquarters.

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Oct 31, 1992 Arusha IV conference ends with the signing of a power-sharing protocol calling for a weaker presidency, executive powers vested in a council of ministers comprised of all parties including the RPF, and the reestablishment of the Supreme Court. Government decisions are designed to be blocked by a vote of 1/3 of the council of ministers.

Nov 3, 1992 Habyarimana and the opposition parties meet in an effort to reach an agreement on key outstanding issues, marking the beginning of an internal dialogue on the peace process. At issue are the distribution of seats in the executive cabinet and the modification of the MRND-dominated territorial administration of government while the transitional government is in place.

Nov 4, 1992 MRND leaders debate the merits of the Arusha protocol, criticising several points, but agree to use it as the basis for future negotiations.

Nov 15, 1992 In a speech at Ruhengeri, Habyarimana calls the Arusha agreements mere "pieces of paper." PM Nsengiyaremye criticizes his stance in an open letter.

Nov 16, 1992 Church leaders including Papal Nuncio serve as facilitators in the first of a series of talks involving the MRND and the opposition to arrive at a common negotiating position. FM Ngulinzira states that even if no agreement is reached he will go to Arusha on November 23 to continue the talks as scheduled.

Nov 19, 1992 The opposition parties organize a march in Kigali in favor of the Arusha process. Fifty are injured in related violence.

Nov 23, 1992 With the internal debate still unresolved, the government delegation travels to Arusha with the intention of discussing military integration - a topic previously intended to be deferred until after political talks. The RPF refuses to talk unless political issues are on the agenda, too.

Nov 25, 1992 Arusha V begins. Initially little progress is made as negotiators wait for word of the progress of internal negotiations in Kigali.

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Nov 27, 1992 After consulting for ten days with all parties, Church leaders tasked by Habyarimana to recommend the appropriate distribution of seats in the proposed council of ministers surprisingly recommend the formula proposed by the opposition - namely, three ministerial portfolios each for MRND, MDR, RPF, PL and PSD, two seats for the PDC and three for other parties. In a rushed meeting the following day convened by PM Nsengiyaremye, the cabinet - excluding MRND members - approves the Church proposals.

Nov 30, 1992 Habyarimana meets with Mwinyi and tells him that he will support any decisions reached by his negotiating team in Arusha.

Dec 1, 1992 Habyarimana makes a relatively conciliatory speech hinting he might accept Church recommendations as a basis for the Arusha negotiating position. Yet, Habyarimana favors instead: a transition government based on an executive cabinet as long as no one bloc has a permanent 2/3 majority, inclusion of other parties (i.e. CDR), a transition period of 12 months ending in December 1993, and a mechanism for approving Arusha protocols either by referendum or a vote by the existing parliament.

The Minister of Justice (PL) submits his resignation, claiming lack of cooperation with security ministers who are predominantly MRND members. Many believe the Minister is maneuvering for political advantage, but Habyarimana rejects his resignation.

Dec 2, 1992 In significant ceasefire violation witnessed by ceasefire monitors, FAR troops accompanied by French advisors try to move their trench lines forward by 500 meters and are fired upon by the RPF.

Based on Church recommendations and his understanding of Habyarimana's December 1 statement, FM Ngulinzira begins to negotiate with the RPF without any instructions.

December 1992 Angered by the opposition's unilateral moves, Habyarimana refuses to discuss with PM Nsengiyaremye a compromise between his position and that of Church leaders.

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Dec 16, 1992 After a week's break, the government and RPF resume discussions in Arusha, concentrating on the distribution of cabinet portfolios. Talks in Kigali are still deadlocked and the government delegation in Arusha continues to negotiate without authority. The U.S. withdraws its observers to the talks.

Dec 16, 1992 As a result of RPF threats, ICRC suspends planned shipments of Ugandan grain to Rwanda along the Kagitumba road. Diplomatic efforts to get the grain moving again make little progress by year's end.

Dec 25, 1992 Reflecting growing tension, two bombs explode in Kigali, including one in a crowded nightclub which injures 20.

Dec 28-30, 1992 Ethnic violence in GISENYI prefecture leaves several dozen hurt and numerous homes destroyed.

Dec 31, 1992 The MRND and CDR stage joint demonstrations and block all roads into Kigali to protest the Arusha talks. A bomb also explodes in Butare Hotel frequented by expatriates. Two are injured.

Early Jan 1993 A supposedly government sponsored massacre of Tutsis occurs.

Feb 8, 1993 The RPF retaliates by breaking the ceasefire agreement and attacking FAR forces.

March 7, 1993 A new ceasefire accord is negotiated, calling for renewed talks in Arusha.

March 15, 1993 Arusha talks start up again.

March 17, 1993 RPF troops withdraw to pre-February offensive positions. A buffer zone is created between RPF and FAR forces and is monitored by a MOG - OAU team.

April 29, 1993 Alexis Kanyarengwe speaks at the U.S. Committee for Refugees about the plight of Rwandan refugees.

End of Apr 1993 The U.S. military observer to the Arusha talks reports that a 60 - 40 percent split will be accepted by both sides as the formula for the intergration of the two armies. All political questions, however, have been tabled for the transitional government to handle. A protocol on refugees is left to be negotiated. The total number of refugees now stands at 235,000.

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